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SUBJECT: EU-AFRICA SUMMIT; EPAS, ZIMBABWE, DARFUR

REF: A. A) LISBON 3106

[¶](#)B. B) USEU BRUSSELS 3470

Classified By: POL CHIEF TROY FITRELL, REASONS 1.4 (B,D)

[¶](#)1. (SBU/NF) Summary. The Portuguese are justly proud of the successful EU-Africa Summit held December 8-9 in Lisbon, even if the self-congratulation is sometimes over the top. Economic partnership agreements that the European mission thought were a done deal were derailed for further study, and interim agreements continue to be negotiated to protect current trading relationships. This conflict actually reflected well on the summit and its participants, demonstrating that the summit was not merely a photo op. Darfur was discussed in detail, but with little progress made. German Chancellor Merkel provided a stinging critique of President Mugabe's stewardship of Zimbabwe. Mugabe's ranting response was vintage in its vitriol and lack of contact with reality. End summary.

Portuguese Launch the Summit

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[¶](#)2. (U) The second European Union-Africa Summit was held in Lisbon December 8-9. In the first of several summit addresses, a forceful Portuguese Prime Minister Jose Socrates that "no subject will be taboo; nothing is off the table!" and "(The agenda) says human rights; we will discuss human rights!" In all of his statements at the EU-Africa Business Summit, the opening and closing ceremonies of the full EU-Africa Summit, and his press conferences, Socrates underscored the breadth of activities attached to the summit, which included youth meetings, the business summit, organized labor meetings, and NGO sessions, in addition to the summit itself. (Note: Although the primary interlocutors in this partnership are the EU and the African Union, Morocco is not an AU member. Thus, the official title of the summit was "EU-Africa." End note.)

[¶](#)3. (U) Socrates' flights of rhetoric included such statements as Portugal has "developed a bridge between Europe and Africa" and that this summit "is essential to a better world." Socrates opened the summit with the assertion that he personally had decided the summit had to take place. He was, he noted, "well aware" of the obstacles, as well as the skepticism and reluctance by "certain parties." According to Socrates, the presence of so many heads of state and government was proof that he was right to organize it. He said the leaders in attendance had responded not to an invitation from Portugal but to an invitation from history. In what will likely prove to be a bit of a stretch, Socrates suggested that the history of Europe-Africa relationships

will always be defined by pre-Lisbon and post-Lisbon.

**¶4.** (U) In his own press conference mid-way through the summit, Portuguese Foreign Minister Amado stated that the summit had achieved its goals, having produced and adopted the Joint Strategy and Action Plan. While the last EU-Africa Summit in Cairo in 2000 had been a cathartic review of past injustices, Amado implored this summit to look forward. According to Amado, the Cotonou Accord had been designed by Europeans and that colonial paradigm was over. The Joint Strategy is a sign of the AU's importance. The EU and AU commissions will henceforth meet twice per year, said Amado; once each in Brussels and Addis Ababa.

#### Africa Speaks

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**¶5.** (U) President of Ghana and of the AU John Kufuor noted that five centuries of contact between Europe and Africa had been based on inequitable relationships, from mineral exploration to slavery to colonialization. This summit, he said, marked the first engagement as equal partners. Throughout the summit, Kufuor maintained a positive message that the AU was in this process out of self-interest in order to become better prepared for a modern globalist economy. His message that bad governance was bad for business, which results in deeper poverty, was well-received by both Europeans and Africans.

**¶6.** (U) Kufuor raised HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria (which were not among the official topics to be addressed), calling them the most serious threats Africa faced. African Commission President Alpha Oumar Konare and European Commission President Jose Durao Barroso each picked up on this point in what appeared to be extemporaneous points. In an apparent dismissal of absent UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown, Konare also exulted that "all the relevant countries are here."

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Each of the European speakers noted natural relationships between the two continents. Konare was forceful, however, in his statement that Africa is "no one's exclusive purview," listing the many African summits with others, including China. Konare called for UNSC reform to include a permanent African UNSC representative and for reform of Bretton Woods institutions as well.

**¶7.** (C/NF) Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi did not receive his usual adulation at the summit. Held in Europe, Qaddafi was deprived of professional cheering squads to herald his arrival, and professional press were more interested in European leaders, Kofi Annan, and others for whom there is a greater market for photos. Qaddafi's plenary speech, according to Spanish Foreign Minister Moratinos and Danish delegation members, was singular in ignoring the purposes of the summit but faithfully recited a litany of past injustices. Qaddafi cited stolen diamonds, gold, and people (slaves). A Dane quipped to us that he obviously valued the three in that order. Even a Southern African Development Community representative referred to Qaddafi as a "buffoon." Socrates mentioned at the final press conference that Libya had offered to host the next summit, but reminded all that this would be up to the AU.

#### Structures and Statements

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**¶8.** (U) The summit resulted in dozens of official statements and reprints of speeches. Please see [http://www.intelink.gov/communities/state/eup\\_res/](http://www.intelink.gov/communities/state/eup_res/) for all official documents, including the final Lisbon Declaration. Summit participants made the following commitments:

--engage in more frequent contacts between African and EU political leaders, in particular between the Presidents of the EU and AU institutions;

--hold EU-AU Troika meetings of Foreign Ministers twice per year and sectoral ministerial meetings as necessary;

--establish mechanisms for closer cooperation and dialogue between the organs and institutions of the EU and AU, including annual meetings between the College of Commissioners, semi-annual meetings of the Joint AU-EU Task Force, and regular meetings between the Pan-African Parliament and the European Parliament;

--strengthen the representation of the EU in Addis Ababa (including designating an EU Ambassador to the AU that represents Council and Commission) and of the AU in Brussels;

--establish a mapping of existing European and African civil society organizations (CSOs);

--create a web portal to facilitate consultation with CSOs ahead of key political decisions;

--establish informal joint experts groups on all priority actions identified in the Action Plan;

--draw up an annual joint report on the progress of the Action Plan to be presented at the Ministerial Troika meetings; and

--hold a third EU-Africa Summit in 2010 in Africa to review the first Action Plan and approve the next one.

#### Five Summit Topic Areas

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¶9. (U) As noted in Ref A, the summit agenda was dedicated to the five topic areas of Peace and Security, Governance and Human Rights, Trade and Development, Environment and Climate Change, and Migration. The substance of the discussions of each of those issues is discussed below:

##### Peace and Security (which mostly meant Darfur)

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¶10. (U) "It all starts here," said Socrates, when he said the summit must send a message of hope to Darfur refugees. This was his only mention of a specific crisis in his opening address. Konare lauded AU action on Darfur, Somalia, and Chad, but stressed that "we must stop wasting time on the Darfur hybrid force." Kufuor agreed, suggesting since Africa has already stepped up with troops, now the international community must step up with money and equipment. Ghanaian

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soldiers, he noted, are on the ground today in Chad but need support. Amado said EU Foreign Ministers would discuss the long-delayed hybrid force at the December 10 GAERC. While he hoped the force would be fully deployed in 2007, there were no guarantees. (Note: Foreign Ministers did discuss this at the GAERC and again with heads of state/government at the European Council December 14, although they reached no final resolution. End note.)

¶11. (U) On the margins of the plenary assembly, the EU troika met with Sudanese President Bashir to discuss the north-south accord, frustration with the failure of the peace process, fear that a 2011 referendum would partition the country, the problems created by the Sudanese government regarding the hybrid force and prohibition of non-African troops, and lack of cooperation with the International Criminal Court. Portuguese State Secretary Joao Cravinho said the goal was to pass the EU's message to Bashir, and that it was accomplished. Cravinho said Bashir promised a final determination on troops in Darfur by the end of the year and that the EU is awaiting that notice in the UN.

¶12. (C/NF) Regarding the hybrid force, Konare particularly lamented the lack of air support. UN Deputy Secretary

General Mirigo seconded that point, noting the UN had contacted every single involved nation to request helicopter assets but had received none. A Dutch diplomat told us the Netherlands would not contribute helicopters themselves but that they would push "larger states to the east and west to help France." Based on this, we queried Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Moratinos on the margins of his press conference on December 8, who told us that Spain had promised two civil transport aircraft but were still defining how they could be used. On helicopters, he flatly rejected any contribution.

**¶13.** (U) On a completely separate security topic, Spanish President Zapatero lauded his country's cooperation with France regarding counter-terrorism. During his December 9 press conference, Zapatero went off-topic to laud Spanish cooperation with France in combating ETA, the Basque terrorist separatist organization. Zapatero complimented the permanent joint investigative team staffed by French and Spanish agents and analysts. He said this team has increased the efficiencies and strengthened the institutions that defend liberty and democratic rights. Zapatero made no mention of the joint investigative team that Spain set up with Portugal to combat ETA, despite speaking in the Portuguese capital.

Governance and human rights (which mostly meant Zimbabwe)

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**¶14.** (U) Socrates said governance and human rights was at the center of the summit agenda and the Joint Strategy. He lamented the fact that the second EU-Africa summit had been delayed for seven years because of the "grave situation in Zimbabwe," but that was his only reference to any specific trouble spot. Alone among opening speakers, EU Parliament President Pottering noted that no non-democratic state is allowed to join the EU and that any state that relinquishes its democratic commitments would be suspended. He lamented that the same is not true for the AU. Durao Barroso said it is incomprehensible that those who fought for freedom would deny it to their people.

**¶15.** (U) German and Danish delegation members confirmed that during the Saturday session German Chancellor Merkel provided a stinging critique of Zimbabwe's political situation and Mugabe's stewardship of the country. Danish PM Fogh Rasmussen added unscripted comments to support Merkel during his prepared remarks on the environment, as did the French and Dutch leaders. While Senegalese President Wade responded for the African side, calling Merkel "uninformed" and suggesting she "misunderstood" Zimbabwe, Mugabe himself remained silent. Mbeki, specifically charged with a statement on human rights and governance, did not address Zimbabwe.

**¶16.** (U) Mugabe used his speaking slot on the summit's final day to lambast Merkel, the United Kingdom, and all other critics. Highlights include:

--"This is the arrogance of the European side making trumped up charges against Zimbabwe."

--"...those who talk of equality but who do not respect it."

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--"Does the German Chancellor have better knowledge about Zimbabwe than SADC or the AU?"

--"They do not recognize results of elections properly held because they do not like the winner."

--"(Zimbabwe's) opposition only says what 10 Downing Street wants them to say."

--"The colonial power continues to manipulate. They want to

change our government."

--"We will never be a colony again."

**¶17. (U)** Executive Secretary of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Tomaz Salomao publicly said one must respect (Merkel's) opinion, but equally one must respect the protest against that opinion. He said that neighboring countries such as Malawi and South Africa have the right to comment, not long-distant foreigners. He noted that Mugabe's ZANU-PF party is talking with the Zimbabwean opposition and we must find ways to assist. He continued that SADC finance ministers meet regularly to search for ways to help mitigate the financial fallout from the economic crisis.

**¶18. (C/NF)** Indeed, Zimbabwe began its offensive 24 hours before the official summit even began, distributing colorful materials entitled, "The Adverse Impact of SANCTIONS against Zimbabwe" (allcaps theirs). The Portuguese MFA said they had seen the documents in previous meetings but felt that anyone reading them would recognize them as "ridiculous propaganda."

**¶19. (U)** Highlights of the thick Zimbabwean document included:

--"the reality on the ground is that the tight grip of declared and undeclared sanctions are to be found in the statutes of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Bill, enacted by the United States Government." The document later noted that this act caused NGOs to flee the country, harming the Zimbabwean population.

--"Sanctions against Zimbabwe are a declaration of war on a sovereign state..."

--"Sanctions, declared or undeclared, have regrettably claimed the lives of innocent children and physically handicapped, through denial of medical equipment drugs and food."

--"the illegal sanctions also negatively affected the image of the country through adverse perceptions by international financial markets. Zimbabwean companies find it increasingly difficult to ACCESS LINES OF CREDIT (allcaps theirs) because of the perceived artificial country risk."

--The Danish government came under pages of abuse for closing the DANIDA office (and indeed, the embassy). Ironically, there is a page on the significant benefits of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), and lamenting that Zimbabwe is not allowed to participate.

--Conclusion: "the current setbacks facing Zimbabwe are a transitory rough patch primarily arising from sanctions being imposed on the country."

**¶20. (U)** In his own press conference, Portuguese Foreign Minister Luis Amado said that for all the publicity, Zimbabwe had been a marginal issue, eclipsed in the working sessions by the important summit topics. He referred to Merkel's comments and those of other leaders, noting the Portuguese had always promised such statements would be included in the summit. At the closing ceremony, Kufuor noted that SADC is addressing the issue and it will take time for Zimbabwe to return to normality. Durao Barroso added that the Merkel and Mugabe exchange was healthy. Merkel reflected the view of the whole EU, he said, and it was important for the Africans to hear it.

Trade/development (which mostly meant EPAs or lack thereof)

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**¶21. (U)** Durao Barroso set a strong early tone on the future EU-AU trading relationship, a tone which he had to refine rapidly. At an EU-AU Business Summit the day before the official summit began, Durao Barroso called for those African countries that had not enacted Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) with the EU to do so immediately. This is,

he said, "the best offer you are going to get," noting that on January 1 such states would lose access to much of the EU market.

**¶22.** (U) Several African leaders noted their wish to review the EPAs more thoroughly. Konare responded forcefully that no one should foist these economic partnerships on Africans because "those days of colonial dictates are over." Trade, he stressed, requires reciprocity. Past experiences with trade agreements shoved through rapidly had negatively affected Africans. Konare also stressed that the AU is the paramount institution in Africa, and the European Commission's efforts to negotiate with regional economic groupings or bilaterally with individual states was divisive and unhelpful. The current timeline issued by Durao Barroso, he concluded, was an imposition on the African people. SADC's Salomao said Senegal and Lesotho spoke for all Africans that they needed more time to generate a fair agreement for the long term. Amado confirmed that the EPAs had been discussed in critical terms by several African interlocutors, but that a solution could be found.

**¶23.** (U) During the course of the summit, Durao Barroso backtracked heavily on EPAs. Whereas on Friday he said "sign them because they are the best deal you will get," Durao Barroso on Sunday allowed that the European Commission was negotiating interim agreements to avoid the tariff deadline. He said full discussions on an EPA will continue at such a pace as to address the concerns of all African leaders and that he hoped that text would be ready by February. He noted that all but three countries that needed an interim agreement had already initialed one. (Note: Least Developed Countries do not need an interim agreement or an EPA as trade preferences for such countries do not violate WTO rulings. End note.) He did confirm, however, that for non-LDCs that fail to make an interim agreement, the old market access regime would still end January 1.

**¶24.** (U) By the end of the summit, Konare said he was happy that EPA discussions would continue, but feared that the interim agreements would inhibit real negotiation on the EPAs. In such a situation, Konare worried the interim agreements would become the de facto permanent regime. Salomao said Africans would return home to work on the issue. Both Konare and Salomao repeatedly returned to the need for infrastructure assistance to be coupled with trade. According to Salomao, that was the best approach for improving the EPAs.

Environment and climate change

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**¶25.** (C/NF) Both sides described the environment as a critical priority, but Danish and Zambian delegation members admitted that "environmental cooperation" meant two entirely different things to the two groups. The Europeans wanted African support for efforts to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, while the Africans were more interested in discussing sustainable development, particularly collaboration on a growth-oriented agenda that allowed for more intensive farming and commercial development.

**¶26.** (C/NF) A Danish diplomat told us Europe's approach was guided by the premise that Africans will suffer the effects of climate change, so Africans must support the climate change initiatives supported by Europe. By contrast, according to a Zambian delegation member, Africa wants to industrialize further and take advantage of coal, oil, and gas reserves to do so. In short, Africa, said this diplomat, hoped to increase its greenhouse gas output. Any initiative to curb such emissions must exclude them.

Migration

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¶127. (U) In his opening address, Socrates characterized migration as the ignored topic in previous EU-AU discussions, noting the need to encourage legal immigration, combat illegal immigration, and better integrate migrants. Socrates' point was validated as subsequent summit speakers addressed it only in passing, with the exception of Spanish President Zapatero, who listed migration as one of Spain's highest priorities. Throughout the summit, Zapatero repeatedly called for a unified EU front to combat illegal immigration. He expanded the call to include a collaborative EU-AU effort in exchange for targeted development funds for certain African states to minimize the factors that induce people to emigrate. He acknowledged that the idea of

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offering extensive development assistance to Africa to reduce the "pull" factor in exchange for cooperation to fight irregular immigration was not received warmly by Senegal's Wade, amongst others.

¶128. (U) Reflecting on the migration discussions during the closing ceremonies, Konare rejected the notion of "sweets" for certain countries. President Toure of Mali rejected the characterization of uncontrolled illegal immigration, noting that this phenomenon represents only two percent of the total migratory flows between Africa and Europe. More than fifty percent, he continued, is merely family reunification, and development assistance should be primarily focused on migration within Africa, rather than between Africa and Europe.

¶129. (C/NF) A Spanish diplomat told us Spain had pushed a holistic EU approach to migration for many years. They had been ignored by several members, who saw floods of migrants on Spanish shores as Spain's problem. In the development of the summit papers, however, Spain's views were incorporated, if glossed over by most of the European leaders. The Spanish diplomat said Europeans had been quiet, Africans were angry, but the points remained part of the action plan.

Comment

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¶130. (SBU) The entire Portuguese establishment, from Socrates to Amado to the lowest MFA staffer, was proud of the summit. The Portuguese set out to inaugurate a structure in which the two continents could engage in a sustained way on matters of mutual interest, and they appear to have achieved that. The Portuguese also deserve credit for pulling off such an enormous logistical undertaking, with nearly 80 heads of government and state in town and the significant security arrangements their presence required, with no major hiccups.

Stephenson